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ACTION AF-01

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| INFO | LOG-00  | CIAE-00 | C-01    | DODE-00                 | EUR-01  | HA-09   | H-01   |
|      | INRE-00 | INR-01  | L-03    | ADS-00                  | NSAE-00 | NSCE-00 | OMB-01 |
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P 131000Z NOV 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2223  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04680

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW  
SUBJECT: ARUSHA FOLLOWUP

REF: KIGALI 04614

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE NOVEMBER 11 MEETING BETWEEN THE  
OPPOSITION PARTIES AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS WAS  
POSTPONED BY THE DEATH OF THE FATHER OF THE BISHOP OF  
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KABGAYI. IT HAS BEEN RESCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER 16,  
AND EXPANDED TO INCLUDE A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE  
MRND. PREPARATORY MEETINGS HAVE BEGUN. DIPLOMATS  
HERE AGREE TO SUPPORT THIS PROCESS. THE MRND HAS  
STRONGLY CRITICIZED THE ARUSHA DELEGATION,  
RECOMMENDED REVISION OF CERTAIN ARTICLES OF THE  
ARUSHA PROTOCOL, BUT TOLD ME THAT THE PARTY WOULD NOT  
REPUDIATE THE PROTOCOL. THE MRNDFORMALIZED NOVEMBER  
12 A NEW FIVE-PARTY COALITION INCLUDING CDR, PECO,  
PADER AND PAREWA CALLED THE ALLIANCE FOR

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STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY, A NEW TWIST IN AN ALREADY COMPLICATED POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA IN BRIEFING AMBASSADOR HERE SAID RPF HAS AGREED TO A CONSULTATIVE MEETING WITH OTHER PARTIES,

AND HAS SPECIFIED THE FOUR MINISTRIES IT COVETS. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES CAN BE RESOLVED BY NOVEMBER 23. END SUMMARY.

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RELIGIOUS INTERVENTION  
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3. RELIGIOUS LEADERS HAVE AGREED TO FACILITATE INTERNAL TALKS BETWEEN THE MRND AND THE OTHER PARTIES UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MSGR. NSENGIYUMVA, BISHOP OF KABGAYI AND PRESIDENT OF THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE. THE FIRST MEETING WAS TO BE HELD NOVEMBER 11. KABGAYI'S FATHER DIED NOVEMBER 10. KABGAYI HAS RESCHEDULED THE MEETING FOR NOVEMBER 16. AS OF LATE NOVEMBER 12, THE PARTIES HAVE AGREED TO MEET MONDAY  
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MORNING, NOVEMBER 16 AT 0900. THE MRND HAS AGREED TO PARTICIPATE, AND THE PARTIES ARE INVITING HABYARIMANA TO REPRESENT THE MRND.

4. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA DECIDED THAT IT IS NOT USEFUL FOR HIM TO MEET WITH THE POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS WITHOUT HAVING THE FACILITATORS PRESENT, AND HE PREFERS TO SEE THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS AFTER THEY MEET WITH THE PARTIES. THUS WE DOUBT THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL APPEAR FOR THE MONDAY MEETING.

5. THE PARTIES ARE NERVOUS. THEY CAME TO SEE ME LATE NOVEMBER 10, ESSENTIALLY ASKING ME TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS TO PASS THEIR MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT. I REITERATED MY POSITION THAT THEY SHOULD TALK DIRECTLY WITH THE PRESIDENT, BUT THEY FIND IT FRUSTRATING THAT HE SEEMS UNWILLING TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH THEM. THEY THEN ASKED ME TO INVITE THE PRESIDENT TO THE RESIDENCE TO MEET WITH THEM. I TOLD THEM I WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER HOW WE MIGHT HELP THE INTERNAL DIALOGUE, AND I WOULD CONSULT WITH THE PAPAL NUNCIO AND THE EUROPEAN AMBASSADORS TO SEE WHETHER WE HAVE ANY GOOD IDEAS ALONG THIS LINE. THE PAPAL

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NUNCIO FEELS STRONGLY THAT WE SHOULD AWAIT THE RETURN  
OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS TO PLAY THIS ROLE.  
THE BELGIAN AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS AGREE.

6. MEANTIME, MDR PRESIDENT FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU HAS  
MET WITH THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET DIRECTOR ENOCH  
RUHIGIRA, IN PREPARATION FOR THE MONDAY MEETING, AND  
WILL MEET HIM AGAIN NOVEMBER 13. FAUSTIN IS

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UNUSUALLY OPTIMISTIC AS A RESULT OF THESE MEETINGS.

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THE MRND AND ARUSHA  
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7. FOLLOWING ITS NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING,  
REPORTED REFTEL, THE MRND PUT OUT A PUBLIC COMMUNIQUE  
NOVEMBER 5. THERE WAS NO MENTION IN THE COMMUNIQUE  
OF THE PARTY CRITICIZING THE PRESIDENT. TO THE

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2224  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 04680

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
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CONTRARY, THE MRND ACCUSED THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF EXCEEDING HIS MANDATE AND OF SERVING HIS OWN PARTY'S INTERESTS RATHER THAN THOSE OF THE NATION. PL LEADER MUGENZI CALLED ME LATE FRIDAY NIGHT TO SAY THAT THE MRND WAS REPUDIATING THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. I TOLD HIM THAT I DID NOT READ THE COMMUNIQUE THAT WAY, AND HE AGREED TO STUDY THE POSITION FURTHER. ON NOVEMBER 9,  
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A FORMAL DELEGATION OF THE MRND CAME TO MY OFFICE TO COMPLAIN ABOUT THE BEHAVIOR OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER. BUT THEIR BOTTOM LINE WAS THAT THEY ARE NOT ASKING FOR RENEGOTIATION OF ARUSHA AS IT STANDS. THEY COMMITTED THEMSELVES AGAIN TO PASS POWER TO ANOTHER PARTY FOLLOWING AN ELECTION IF THAT IS THE RESULT OF THE VOTE. BUT THEY WILL NOT GIVE UP THEIR ROLE IN GOVERNMENT AT THE PRESENT TIME.

8. REPEATING THE SAME CRITICAL THEME OF THE NOVEMBER 5 COMMUNIQUE, THE MRND MINISTERS SENT A LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER NOVEMBER 10 SHARPLY CRITICAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION, RECOMMENDING THAT THE NEXT ARUSHA DELEGATION HAVE PRECISE INSTRUCTIONS, AND THAT IT INSIST ON THE REVISION OF CERTAIN ARTICLES OF THE PROTOCOL. MUGENZI CALLED AGAIN WHEN HE SAW THIS LETTER TO COMPLAIN THAT THE MRND HAS REPUDIATED THE ACCORD. AGAIN I TOLD HIM I DON'T SEE "RECOMMENDATION" AS "REPUDIATION," BUT AGREE THE MRND IS MOVING CLOSE TO THE BRINK. I SPOKE IMMEDIATELY WITH MRND MINISTER BIZIMUNGU WHO ASSURES ME "WE ARE NOT REJECTING THE

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ARUSHA PROTOCOL."

9. IN A MOVE TO STRENGTHEN ITS POSITION, THE MRND FORMED A COALITION WITH FOUR OTHER PARTIES NOVEMBER 12. THE NEW COALITION IS CALLED THE ALLIANCE FOR STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY (ARD) AND INCLUDES: CDR, PECO, PADER AND PAREWA. THE MRND HOPES TO ENHANCE ITS POSITION ON THE FORMATION OF A NEW TRANSITION GOVERNMENT, NO DOUBT TO TRY TO BRING IN ENOUGH ALLIES

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TO GIVE THE ARD A BLOCKING THIRD IN THE CABINET. THE CRITICAL ISSUE REMAINS THE ROLE OF THE CDR. BIZIMUNGU TOLD ME TODAY THAT HE BELIEVES THAT THE MRND WILL USE THE ALLIANCE TO FORCE THE CDR TO MODERATE ITS BEHAVIOR.

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ISSUES FOR NEGOTIATION  
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10. ASKED ABOUT THE CRITICISM FROM THE MRND DURING A BRIEFING HE GAVE FOR FOREIGN DIPLOMATS NOVEMBER 7, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID HE WAS NOT WORRIED. HE DENIED HAVING EXCEEDED HIS AUTHORITY, AND ASSERTED STRONGLY THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS SERVE THE NATIONAL INTEREST AND NOT JUST HIS PARTY. HE NOTED, IN CONNECTION WITH THE LATTER POINT, THAT HE HAD BEEN SEVERELY CRITICIZED BY HIS OWN PARTY DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS.

11. IN HIS BRIEFING OF THE DIPLOMATS, FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA DESCRIBED HIS PROPOSAL FOR THREE DIFFERENT TYPES OF MINISTRIES IN WHICH NO SINGLE PARTY COULD HAVE MORE THAN ONE MINISTRY IN THE SO CALLED SECURITY GROUP AND NO MORE THAN TWO IN EACH OF THE ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL GROUPS. BUT HIS PROPOSAL WOULD ALSO PROHIBIT ANY SINGLE PARTY FROM HOLDING MORE THAN FOUR SEATS IN THE CABINET. HE SAID THE RPF WANTS TO HAVE DEFENSE OR INTERIOR, HEALTH, TRANSPORTATION, AND YOUTH. IT ALSO WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE POSITION OF SECRETARY OF STATE FOR

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REFUGEES. THE RPF WANTED THE DECISION AT ARUSHA ON  
SPECIFIC MINISTRIES.

12. THE GOR SAID THAT IT WAS NECESSARY AT ARUSHA ONLY  
TO ESTABLISH THE PRINCIPLES AND THEN TO HAVE A  
MEETING AMONG PARTIES. ACCORDING TO THE FOREIGN  
MINISTER, THE RPF FINALLY AGREED TO A CONSULTATIVE  
MEETING WITH THE PARTIES TO DISCUSS MINISTRIES,  
PROVIDED THEY COULD RETURN TO THE BILATERAL GOR-RPF

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SUBJECT: ARUSHA FOLLOWUP

FORUM TO FORMALIZE THEIR AGREEMENT. THE RPF WANTS ALL ISSUES RESOLVED, THAT IS WHICH MINISTRIES EACH PARTY WILL HOLD, BEFORE THEY SIGN THE AGREEMENT. FOR THE RPF THE PURPOSE IS TO ASSURE THAT NO ONE PARTY (MRND) CAN DOMINATE THE CABINET. IRONICALLY, THIS IS THE SAME POINT MADE BY THE MRND WHICH FEARS BEING MARGINALIZED BY A COALITION OF OPPOSITION AND RPF

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PARTIES IN THE CABINET.

13. ON REFUGEES, THE RPF HAD SAID THAT REFUGEES MUST RETURN DURING THE TRANSITION, BUT THEY SUBSEQUENTLY ACCEPTED THE GOVERNMENT POSITION THAT THE RETURN COULD TAKE PLACE BOTH DURING AND FOLLOWING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. IN THE ARUSHA TALKS, THE GOR AGREED TO MAKE SEVERAL CHANGES IN THE LAW HERE TO FACILITATE THE INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES. THIS INCLUDED RAISING THE AGE LIMIT, WHICH HAD BEEN 25, ON CIVIL SERVICE RECRUITMENT, AND MAKING POSSIBLE MID-LEVEL ENTRIES FOR PROFESSIONALS INTO THE SERVICE; FINALLY, SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE FOR JOB SEEKERS WHO DO NOT SPEAK FRENCH.

14. ON THE INTEGRATION OF THE ARMIES, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE HAS SUGGESTED THAT THIS INTEGRATION SHOULD BEGIN WITH THE HIGH COMMAND, AND THEN PROCEED TO THE REST OF THE TROOPS. IT WAS AGREED AT ARUSHA THAT DEMOBILIZATION MUST BE A PART OF THE WHOLE PEACE PROCESS.

15. COMMENT: THE PROCESS DEBATE IS VINTAGE RWANDAN BRINKSMANSHIP. IN PRINCIPLE THE PRESIDENT WILL MEET RELIGIOUS LEADERS AFTER THEIR NOVEMBER 16 MEETING WITH THE PARTIES, THEN MEET WITH THE PARTIES. THE FOREIGN MINISTER PLANS TO LEAVE NOVEMBER 22 FOR THE NEXT ROUND IN ARUSHA. THAT LEAVES ONLY FOUR OR FIVE DAYS TO DEVELOP A CONSENSUS, AND LEAVES NO SPACE FOR THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF PARTIES WITH THE RPF. I SUGGEST THAT OUR OBSERVERS NOT LEAVE WASHINGTON UNTIL

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WE CAN CONFIRM THAT A PRODUCTIVE MEETING WILL BEGIN  
ON NOVEMBER 23 AS PLANNED. FLATEN

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